## Message Text

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R 060510Z SEP 78

FM AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8393

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY NDJAMENA

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

CONFIDENTIAL KHARTOUM 4133

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PINT, SU

SUBJECT: UNCHARACTERISTIC EDITORIAL

1. LATEST ISSUE OF MONTHLY ENGLISH LANGUAGE MAGAZINE SUDANOW CONTAINS EDITORIAL SIGNED BY EDITOR AND MININFO BONA MALWAL RING TITLED UNCHARACTERISTIC ANNOUNCEMENTS. EDITORIAL IS UNCHARACTERISTIC, TO SAY THE LEAST, SINCE IT CONTAINS RATHER STRONG CRITICISM OF SADEQ AL-MAHDI AND THINLY VEILED CRITICISM OF NIMEIRI AS WELL. END CONFIDENTIAL

## BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED

2. ARTICLE BEGINS BE REFERRING TO LATE JULY PRESS CONFERENCE BY SADEQ WHICH WAS BROADCAST AND TELECAST NATIONWIDE. SADEQ ANNOUNCED THAT HE AND NIMEIRI HAD AGREED TO FREE ELECTIONS CONFIDENTIAL

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WITHIN SSU. EDITORIAL CLAIMS THAT IF THIS TRUE IT WOULD AMOUNT TO DE FACTO DISSOLUTION OF SSU. BONA MALWAL AVOIDS DISCUSSION OF SUBSTANCE SADEQ'S ANNOUNCEMENTS, BUT HE WRITES THAT ANNOUNCEMENTS OF SUCH IMPORTANCE SHOULD BE MADE BY NIMEIRI.

3. BONA MALWAL THEN GOES ON TO SAY THERE HAS BEEN COM-

PLAINT WITHIN MACHINERY OF MAY REVOLUTION THAT PERSON-ALIZED NATURE OF SADEQ-NIMEIRI CONTACTS REGARDING RECONCIL-IATION HAVE GIVEN SADEQ ERRONEOUS IMPRESSION THAT MAY REVO-LUTION WAS ONLY JAAFAR MUHAMEN NIMEIRI. HE HASTENS TO ADD THAT RECONCILIATION BROADLY SUPPORTED WITHIN MAY REVOLUTION AS MEANS OF BRINGING NATION TOGETHER TO FIGHT WAR ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. HOWEVER, RECONCILIATION SHOULD HAVE BEEN HANDLED LIKE ADDIS ACCORD ENDING CIVIL WAR IN SOUTH. THAT IS, REPRESENTATIVES OF TWO LEADERS SHOULD HAVE MET AND THRASHED OUT AGREEMENT. THEN AGREEMENT IN TOTO SHOULD HAVE BEEN RELEASED TO PUBLIC ALL AT ONCE AND NOT ITEM BY ITEM. BONA MALWAL SAYS THERE ARE MANY QUESTIONS IN PUBLIC MIND ABOUT WHAT EXACTLY HAS BEEN AGREED UPON. CLAIMING THAT NIMEIRI AND SUDANGOV HAVE FOLLOWED FULL LETTER AND SPIRIT OF RECONCILIATION HE CHARGES SADEO IS INDIVIDUAL WHOSE WORD HAS TURNED OUT AT TIMES NOT TO HAVE BEEN EFFECTIVE. THAT IS, HE HAS FAILED TO BRING ALL DISSIDENTS ALONG.

4. BONA MALWAL PROVIDES APOLOGIA FOR NIMEIRI ACTING WITH SECRECY IN NEGOTIATING WITH SADEQ LAST YEAR. HOWEVER, NOW THAT SADEQ HAS TAKEN SSU OATH, HOPEFULLY PROBLEMS WILL HAVE PASSED AND SADEQ AND HIS GROUP WILL BE ABLE PLAY QUOTE FULLER AND MORE HONEST UNQUOTE ROLE IN MAY REVOLUTION. EDITORIAL ENDS WITH PLEA TO BOTH SADEQ AND NIMEIRI TO MAKE PUBLIC WHAT WAS AGREED AT PORT SUDAN LAST YEAR.

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5. COMMENT: HARD TO SAY WHETHER NIMEIRI WAS AWARE OF BONA MALWAL EDITORIAL TEXT PRIOR TO PUBLICATION. WE THINK PROBABLY NOT. ALTHOUGH MALWAL, PARTICULARLY IN SUDANOW, HAS DEVELOPED SOMETHING OF REPUTATION FOR BEING PREPARED TO CRITICIZE SUDAN-GOV WHILE REMAINING MEMBER OF CABINET AND SSU POLITBURO, RELA-TIVELY OUTSPOKEN CRITICISM OF SADEO AND NIMEIRI HIMSELF ALMOST UNHEARD OF HERE. FACT THAT EDITORIAL WAS IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE MAGAZINE RATHER THAN ARAB LANGUAGE MEDIA MAY CONCEIVABLY MEAN THAT IT WILL ESCAPE UNNOTICED, BUT THAT SEEMS DIFFICULT TO BELIEVE. REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER THERE WILL BE ANY PUBLIC REACTION BY EITHER SADEQ OR NIMEIRI, VIEWS EXPRESSED BY BONA MALWAL HAVE BEEN HEARD IN PRIVATE AND ARE WIDELY IF NOT UNIVER-SALLY SHARED. AS MOST IMPORTANT SOUTHERNER IN NATIONAL GOVERN-MENT, IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT CENSURE BONA MALWAL WITHOUT CAUSING OTHER PROBLEMS. BONA MALWAL HAS BEEN RUMORED TO BE WANTING RE-SIGN, BUT UNTIL NOW HE HAS REMAINED IN GOVERNMENT AND SSU HEIRARCHY. SO MININFO MAY HAVE GOTTEN HIMSELF IN TROUBLE BOTH WITH SADEO AND NIMEIRI, BUT HE HAS RAISED ISSUES THAT TROUBLE MANY SUDANESE INCLUD-

ING THOSE IN SSU. WILL BE INTERESTING TO SEE HOW DEBATE PROCEEDS IF AT ALL AND WHETHER, IN PROCESS, BONA MALWAL RETAINS HIS SENIOR GOVERNMENT AND PARTY POSTS.
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